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224 The Indians go in twos and threes on these hunts. In the jungle close to the
262 settlements, the agouti (*Dasyprocta* sp.) is the most common game; after that, a
136 rodent, the *paca* (*Coelogenys paca*), and the raccoon, *coatí* (*Nasua socialis*). With some persistence the Tukuna are still able to collect for the obligatory roasts (*moquedo*) of the feasts enough monkeys of the following species: *prego* (*Cebus* sp.), *barrigudo* (*Lagothrix* sp.), *coatá* (*Ateles* sp.), *parauacú* (*Pithecia* sp.), and *guariba* (*Alouatta* sp.).

The following animals are so rare as to lack economic importance: *coandú* (*Cercolabes* sp.); anteater, *mambira* (*Myrmecophaga tetradactyla*); armadillo, *tatú* (*Dasypus* sp.). The otter, *lontra* (*Pteroneura* sp.), another enemy of fishermen, is never eaten.

223 Of feathered game the most important are a forest turkey, the *mutum* (*Mitua*
262 *mitu*); the *jacú* (*Penelope* sp.); and wild pigeons (*Columba* sp.; *Leptoptila* sp.).
136 The red and yellow macaws, *araras* (*Ara macao* and *A. ararauna*, respectively), parrots (*Amazona* sp.), parakeets (*Conurus* sp.), toucans (*Rhamphastos* sp.), and *japú* (*Ostinops decumanus*, Pall.) are killed more for their feathers than for their flesh.

The vulture, *urubú* (*Cathartes urubu*), is not eaten, nor are the *ankumá* (*Palamedea cornuta*) or the *cigana* (*Opisthocomus hoazin*).

As for caimans, the Indians will occasionally eat the young of the species called
225 *jacaré-tinga* (*Caiman yacare*) by the Neobrazilians. The tortoise, jabóti (*Testudo*
262 *tabulata*),[19] is little used. The Tukuna will eat some species of snakes.
136 *Weapons.*—Almost all the Indians now hunt with firearms, some with simple muzzle-loading smoothbores, others with good, breech-loading; double-barrelled
● 411 pieces. Very infrequently some still use the blowgun, *carauatána*, originally their national weapon for small game, above all, for monkeys.

The Tukuna blowgun (i^{n}ë′) is the largest of all those known, being usually more
411 than 3 m. long. With the aid of tools now at their disposal, the Tukuna manufacture
322 it as follows. The material they prefer is a solid-ground jungle tree called *punau* (*Iryanthera tricornis*, Ducke; T., pu′rune), lacking which they substitute the wood of the *bacabinha* (*Oenocarpus multicaulis* Spr.?), called in Tukuna "nyë." They bring to the house a piece of sufficient size, trim it, and later work it into the shape of a long, slender rod with four planed surfaces, 3.5 m. long by 7 cm. After sawing this lengthwise through the center, they gouge out a longitudinal furrow some 6 cm. wide from end to end in each section. Near the house, they then seek a tree, which should have a thick, more or less horizontal limb about 6 m. above the ground. From this limb they stretch a length of *cipó guembé* (*Philodendron* sp.) vertically to the ground, and lash a beam to it horizontally just above the ground, its weight keeping the cipó taut.

Around this length of peeled cipó they erect a platform of saplings, permitting a craftsman to stand erect, close to the cipó and about 2.5 m. above the ground; another man stays on the ground below. To the length of cipó they then bind the two lengths of wood, with the grooved sides facing inward, and pour over them water containing sand. The two pieces, now strongly bound together so as to form one unit, they pull up and down, keeping the cipó tightly stretched. With this

[19] On p. 19 the author calls this *Emys tabulata* as well.—Trans.

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continued movement the sand widens and deepens the grooves, so that in time the binding has to be drawn tauter until finally the two sections of wood close completely about the cipó. This labor, which is very tiring since it lasts four days, is carried on invariably by two men, one standing on the platform, the other below, working just as if they were sawing boards in a sawmill.

Removing the grooved pieces from the scaffolding, but always keeping the cipó bound within, they untie and retie the lashings, section by section, reducing the piece to a round shape instead of the former square shape, the thickness varying from 1 to 1.5 cm. at the muzzle and from 3.5 to 4 cm. at the breech. They then cut off a section at each end—since here the abrasive action of the sand and movement always widens the bore a little too much—and with wax they firmly join the two halves. The two lengths they then bind spirally on the outside, from end to end, with a strip about 3 cm. wide from the smooth cipó guembé, and coat the whole with wax again.

At the breech they add a mouthpiece of *mkirapiranga* wood (*Cesalpinia echinata; condurú de sangue*) in the shape of a hollow spool. About 10 cm. from this they affix a sight made of wax, with a tooth of the squirrel, *acutipurú* (*Sciurus* sp.), set longitudinally with the convex side up.

Finally, they polish the barrel with a long wad of dried maize leaves with a cord tied at each end. Placing the blowgun in a horizontal position, two persons, each grasping an end of the cord, pull the wad back and forth through the bore until the desired result is obtained.

The Tukuna blowgun never has jaguar (*onça*) teeth at the mouthpiece as Tessmann was informed,[14] nor is the muzzle funnel-shaped, as in the plate of Barbosa Rodrigues.

In the house the blowgun is bound parallel to and pressed flat against a roof pillar, where it is tied at the top and bottom by two loops of cord. In order to remove any curvature, small wedges are inserted at the precise spot necessary between the weapon itself and the post to which it is lashed. When the weapon is not in use, the cleaning rod is generally left inside it.

I greatly admired the agility of the Tukuna in running through the jungle with this weapon, for its length makes it a clumsy thing to carry, and it is too fragile to stand strong knocks. But the Indians shift it from above the head to one side or the other, never knocking it against a tree trunk, and do not appear to be inconvenienced.

The dart (ɔča'gu) for the blowgun is about 30 cm. long and 2 mm. thick. A twist of kapok, *sumahuma* (*Ceiba pentandra*), is rolled on at the rear end; below the point of the dart a small circular notch is cut so that the tip will break off in a wound.

The darts are kept in a long, small, cylindrical basket, *aljava* (yɔ:'ru), with a square bottom and a round mouth. The outside is covered with wax and has tied to it a small sack which contains kapok. The Tukuna do not attach the little curare container shown in Barbosa Rodrigues' plate, since, before leaving the house, they always poison the number of darts they calculate will be needed. They spread the poison on the tip of the dart with a small spatula, then lay the darts so treated

[14] Tessmann, p. 560.

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411 on a beam near the fireplace with the points turned toward the fire in order to dry the poison. Before inserting the dart in the blowgun they moisten the poison by passing the tip between the lips.

278 [439] [178] *Curare.*—The Tukuna used to be famed for their curare, called in the lingua geral *uirarí* (gʊ:'rẽ), which was considered the most efficient of all forms, so that foreign Indians would come from afar to obtain their product. Today this admirable skill is being forgotten and is falling into disuse. Among the Brazilian Tukuna there is only one Indian capable of making good curare, Calixto daueru'kʲ of Igarapézinho, a tributary of the Igarapé de São Jeronymo. I was present four times, from start to finish, during his preparation of the poison.

The principal ingredient, about 70 per cent of the raw material, is the scraped bark of a liana called gʊ:'rẽ,[m] a solid-ground jungle plant the trunk of which attains a thickness of some 20 cm. A few pieces of the liana are cut, and the bark is scraped at the same place. This used to be done with the edge of a bivalve shell; nowadays it is scraped with a knife. Once at home, the curare maker pours water over the scrapings into a wide-mouthed pot, where the resulting infusion forms a thick, sepia-colored soup. The scrapings are squeezed between the hands and placed on cane[n] leaves, tied together so as to form a kind of conical filter (gʊ:'rë-činʲ[o]). The leaves are held fast by bending them over a hoop and tying them in this position. The filter is placed on a frame of sticks to keep it about two handbreadths above the ground, the pot is placed beneath it, and the liquid is then poured through the filter.

The second ingredient, about 20 per cent of the total, is the scraped root of a plant called in Tukuna tau'-mačirẽ' ("anus of toucan"). The vapors released by scraping this plant somewhat irritate the mucous membranes. The infusion, which looks like a dark-brown mud, is placed in another cane-leaf filter beside the first.

All the other ingredients are used in quantities so small that, taken altogether, they make up perhaps 10 per cent of the total. Among them are the root scrapings of the ɲɔ:bʲ (jabotí)[p] plant, the infusion of which is poured through a separate filter but into the same pot as the preceding ingredients. Filtered into the same pot are also infusions of aɲ/pa'ra ("cinnamon," jacamím) and a small quantity of a special type of sweet potato called gʊ:'rë-ɲëi[q]-kɔ:'rë, which is scraped with a pirarucú tongue. The other components—scrapings of vota', ɔva'ru, anʲ' and dyʊ'/ne—are considered of little importance.

After everything has been filtered several times, the liquids are poured together into a large pot, which is placed over a slow fire. The ash-brown scum that then forms on the surface is skimmed off, mixed with water, and filtered again. The thick, coffee-colored liquid is stirred with a hafted river shell. After some time a dark sediment begins to precipitate and is carefully removed from time to time, the liquid being poured into another pot. This task of removing the scum and sediment is continued for about a week, the preparator working about nine hours a day. It is done with extreme care, for they say that the efficacy of the poison depends largely on this. Pains are also taken not to allow overheating of the decoction,

[m] *Strychnos toxifera* ?—Trans.
[n] *Ubim*, "cane"; also known as *guaricanga de beagala*.
[o] *Vérga de jabutí* (*Erisma calcaratum*, Warm.?).—Trans.

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since it will lose its strength if brought to a boil. If it thickens too much, water is added. The process is tedious and demands much attention. When the liquid has reached the desired thickness, after about ten days, some six or eight black beetles called "pu"a'vɐ," which feed on the fungus that grows on rotten wood, are sought in the clearing and are tossed alive into the liquid. These insects exude a fetid, yellow excretion. They are removed after about an hour, and the curare is then thickened with extreme care over a slow fire until the final consistency is that of a very dense honey, which grows even thicker upon cooling. The color is dark brown.

The mass is transferred to a small, globular pot (gʊ:'rë-čɐ-ɲɨ) especially made for this purpose, its mouth being covered with a banana leaf and securely tied. If the curare thickens too much with the passage of time, it is softened with a filtered infusion of pounded dyʊ'-ne leaves.

Fig. 6. Cross section of bow.

The production of curare is not at all a secret, although naturally each maker has his own individual technique. Although women and children are often present at this operation, they never take part in it beyond helping the husband bring home the raw materials or scraping the roots. Von Hassel's statement that "entre los Ticunas tienen las mujeres ... el oficio de fabricar el veneno" is inexact.[10] Sometimes they prepare a special little fire for this purpose at the edge of the clearing, but I have also seen them use the kitchen fire itself, the food being cooked to one side.

The efficacy of the Tukuna poison is discussed in the works of Barbosa Rodrigues and Santesson,[11] the latter dealing with the curare which I brought from Igarapé de São Jeronymo in 1929. I myself have seen it used in hunting monkeys. The effect on the wounded animal is to produce immediately incontinence of feces and urine, the creature falling in about three minutes.

Calixto daueru'kɨ told me that, while poisoning some darts for a hunt one day, he wounded himself very superficially in the hand. Immediately the action of the curare produced spasms of the facial muscles, pains, and incontinence of urine and feces. He cured himself by drinking his own urine, which the Tukuna consider the only remedy.

I was told of another Indian who went alone into the jungle to hunt with his blowgun. When he fired at some arboreal animal, the dart erred in its flight, ricocheted off a tree, and struck him in the back. Later, he was found dead in the jungle. It is because of such experiences that the Tukuna prefer not to go alone while hunting with curare.

For large game they do not use the blowgun, but the bow and arrow and lance. The bow (vɐra') is sometimes 2 m. long. Figure 6 shows it in cross section. The

[10] Hassel, Las tribus salvajes de la region Amasónica del Perú, Bol. Soc. Geog., 17:58.
[11] C. G. Santesson, Ein starkes Topf-Kurare von den Tucuna- (Ticuna-) Indianern des oberen Amazonas, Acta Medica Scandinavica, 75:1–9.

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ends are notched to receive the bowstring (vẹra'-maa'|ᵊ), which was formerly made of bromelia but is nowadays of tucum fiber. Since it has never been used much for fishing and today is not much used in hunting, the bow is being abandoned. The arrow (kɔ:'ru) is made of canna brava. Its total length is 162 cm.; the length of its four-tined point, 9 cm. It is poisoned with curare and kept in a sheath of bamboo (taboca). Its feathering, in the form of a bridge, is tangential (*Stegfiederung*). Today it is completely obsolete.

There were formerly three types of spear, of which two are still in use today. The first was a throwing spear, va:ma'gu, of paxiubinha, 263 cm. long. The poisoned tip, 16 cm. long, looked like an arrow point and, like the arrow point, was protected by a bamboo sheath. In 1929 I saw these spears still in use, but by 1941 they no longer existed. With the second type, dë, the Tukuna still hunt wild pigs. It is a thrusting spear some 236 cm. long, a simple staff of *marajá* wood (*Bactris* sp.), the point being produced by removal of an oblique slice from one end. The third type is even shorter, a pole, dɔ'ča, which nowadays has an iron point. It is used in hunting jaguars (onças) brought to bay by hounds.

Dogs, T., airu' (a'i, spotted jaguar, l.g., *onça pintada*), are found in nearly all the houses, but most of them are worthless for the chase, so that a hunter prefers to leave them at home. According to the Tukuna, dogs are pre-Columbian, the first having been mysteriously borne by an Indian woman.

Traps.—Formerly the Tukuna knew a number of aboriginal types of traps, most of which fell into disuse after the Indians learned how to make booby traps with firearms. One of these early traps, called "vai'para'ne," which was set up over a deer or tapir run, consisted of two strong but elastic logs, tied together vertically on a horizontal beam at a height sufficient to permit the animal to pass beneath. When the trap was set, the two logs were bent in such a way that the ends were spread apart to the sides of the trail at just the right height. The quarry, passing under the horizontal beam, would spring the trap, the two logs snapping against the animal's flanks. Since each log had three spikes on the inner surface, the game was severely wounded as well as tightly held.

For agouti (l.g., cutía) the Tukuna use even today a type of trap known as *mundé* (deadfall)—or, in Tukuna, yẹta'—under which the victim is directed by two brush fences.

For small animals accustomed to running about on the ground, the Tukuna make an enclosure in the jungle sometimes a hundred meters long, and with various openings, behind each of which they set a noose. This fence appears in one legend of the culture heroes (see p. 126) and also in the tale of the seller of a songbird, *sabiá* (p. 154).

Another type of trap for catching *macucáuas* (*Tinamus* sp.), rats, and agoutis consists of a baited lasso at the end of an elastic pole (trip noose) bent over to the ground in the middle of a circular enclosure with one opening (bu:'rëë). With other traps they catch doves and pigeons by setting a burden basket so that one side is slightly raised, with the bait below. In 1929 I observed a rattrap in the form of a small box with a trip door; I suppose, with Tessmann, that this variant was introduced through contact with the Neobrazilians.

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622 with their problems in search of aid and advice. In spite of this, they had no right to punish or coerce anyone who balked at their admonitions. The Tukuna title of these men was tẽ'/tị; on feast days they were distinguished by their feather caps, na:patẽe (described on pp. 37–38).

[773] According to the legend of the origin of languages (p. 130), the first of these chiefs was a certain dəvị, who was also the first man caught by the culture hero dyoi'. The last on Brazilian soil appears to have been Domingos čų'nekị of Igarapé de São Jeronymo. The institution was undermined by the Neobrazilians, who, as

[177] lords of the rubber forests and the Indians, pressed these chiefs into their own service.

622 In place of the tẽ'/tị, who exercised their main influence within the traditional
648 tribal limits, there arose the *tuizáuas* (in Brazil) and *curacas* (in Peru), whom their masters appointed and made into mere instruments. These poor devils were condemned to lie to their "charges" in order to please their masters, and to lie to the latter so as not to be completely despised by their fellows. As late as 1929 I knew a few of these: all ended by being bullied by other Indians of their own group, who at heart never recognized their authority.

There are today a few Indians of recognized superiority, like Calixto daueru'kị of Igarapézinho de São Jeronymo (pl. 10, *e*) and Nino ęvẽnị'kị of Igarapé da Rua, to whom the others resort as they formerly did to the tẽ'/tị, but these owe to the Neobrazilians the dubious honor of nomination.

War

721 The Tukuna are not warlike; their few fights with the Neobrazilians are isolated acts of vengeance or defense.

411 *Weapons.*—War weapons are the bow, vęra' (p. 30), the curare-tipped arrow, kɔ:'ru, and the equally poisoned lance, va:ma'gu, above all, the last named. According to Tessmann, the Tukuna do not use clubs. On several occasions during ceremonies I observed men carrying four-sided clubs with a rounded grip, va:'ra, about a meter in length. Possibly, these are in imitation of clubs used by the northeastern Neobrazilians, who customarily attend celebrations so armed, for the Indians are by no means the only ones who fight on such occasions. Formerly, the Tukuna also used a round shield, nači'nẽ, of tapir leather. The blowgun was not used in warfare. They defended the paths leading to their dwellings with pointed stakes of paxiuba poisoned with curare (tupe'). This method is described in the traditional story of the "Tapera Surára."

[173] In the abandoned plantation of this name, on the left bank of the Alto Igarapé de São Jeronymo, in the old days a Tukuna killed a relative. The dead man's parents complained to the authorities at São Paulo de Olivença, who sent soldiers to the igarapé to arrest the murderer. But the inhabitants of the place put poisoned stakes on the path. Several soldiers were wounded, and the rest returned without completing their mission. The Tukuna, however, abandoned the place from that time on.

648 *War with the Omágua.*—The most feared enemies of the ancient Tukuna—one might say their only enemies—were the Omágua. "[The Omágua] attacked by
[727] canoe, with great spears. They captured many; some of them were sacrificed to their idols and the rest served as slaves in their husbandry." A Tupí-speaking tribe

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539 The jaguar permitted them to place the chain round her neck, and so she was a prisoner. "Let's see your teeth!" said dyoi', and struck her on the nose with a stone; the jaguar fell senseless, but she clenched her jaws. With difficulty dyoi' managed to pry them open at last with a billet of acapú wood. And there in the jaguar's gullet appeared the tip of áu'/tapa's stomach. e'pi tried to get it out with the end of a pole, but proceeded with such ineptitude as to make it rebound, flying far away in a great curve. It fell into the water, where a gigantic caiman swallowed it. The brothers killed the jaguar, breaking all her bones. Then they tried to reach the caiman, throwing ants' nests into the water until a dry surface was formed, with the exception of a pool wherein the creature lay. They made a loop of the chain and, hanging it from the tip of a pole, passed it over the caiman's head. They throttled him, bringing him ashore; but his jaws had locked, and it cost them a tremendous amount of labor to open them. When finally they had succeeded, the bumbling e'pi again exerted such force that áu'/tapa's stomach sprang suddenly from the caiman's gullet to some distance away, and was gulped down by a forest lizard, taá. In vain the two brothers strove to open grandmother's mouth; she stubbornly refused to give up the prize.

dyoi' was obliged to hunt for a live coal and apply it to the lizard's throat, and this is why it has a red mark to this day in the corresponding place. áu'/tapa's stomach appeared in "granny's" mouth, but again e'pi made it spring out suddenly with the tip of his pole, the stomach coming to rest between the wings of a big, blue butterfly [*Morphos menelaus*]. The butterfly closed its wings and would not give up the stomach for any price. They had to burn a hole in its wings. This time dyoi' did not permit e'pi to meddle. He himself took out the stomach and, with it and the flesh and bones found in the jaguar's belly, re-composed áu'/tapa's body. He stamped his foot on the ground, whereupon áu'/tapa sprang up, saying: "My son, you have frightened me!"

[115] *Version collected in 1929.*—The two preceding episodes were told to me in quite a different way by "Captain" Felix of Igarapé de Belém in 1929.[m]

ngutapa became angry with his wife; he tied her with her legs spread so that her privates were exposed to hornet stings. The caiman freed the woman, who made the hornets attack ngutapa. The hornet stings caused an enormous swelling in ngutapa's right knee, from which finally came two boys, dyoi' and ipi, and two girls, aí'ke and muwaé'n. ngutapa, in the form of a deer, was eaten by a jaguar in the jungle, but dyoi' and ipi resolved to avenge him. They made cannibal fish (piranhas) and put them in the igarapé, where the jaguar was accustomed to cross over on top of a log bridge. This they made slippery by daubing it with ambaúva juice so that the jaguar slipped and fell into the water, where she was killed by the voracious fish. They placed her cadaver on shore, taking from her belly the remains of ngutapa, which dyoi' put together again and reanimated with a kick. ngutapa got up and asked how long he had been sleeping.

This version is quite condensed, and on one or another point perhaps I may not have understood the narrator well, but the way in which he told of the jaguar's
[171] death is noteworthy because of the parallels in other mythologies.

The Acquisition of Daylight

In early times a permanent darkness reigned on earth. A sumaúma tree covered the entire sky with its foliage, permitting no light to pass through. The nocturnal monkey used to pass by every day. He had eaten nanene-cane fruits [l.g., arara tucupy] and, because of this, each time he let fall his excrements one would see a glow. dyoi' observed him and, following him secretly, found the fruit tree. He gathered a quantity of hulls from the ground and invented the hurling-fork.[n] With it he threw hull after hull against the leafy cover. The projectiles pierced it, and through each hole a small light appeared. Thus the stars were formed.

[m] Nimuendajú, Tukuna-Indianern, p. 189.

[n] T., kv|ruruä'/, a stick split at one end with a cord tied below the split. The cord is rolled round
● [411] a seed, placed in the cleft, and cast with a forceful snap of the forearm. Speiser observed similar instruments among the Aparaí, Rydén among the Toba, and I among the Guaraní.

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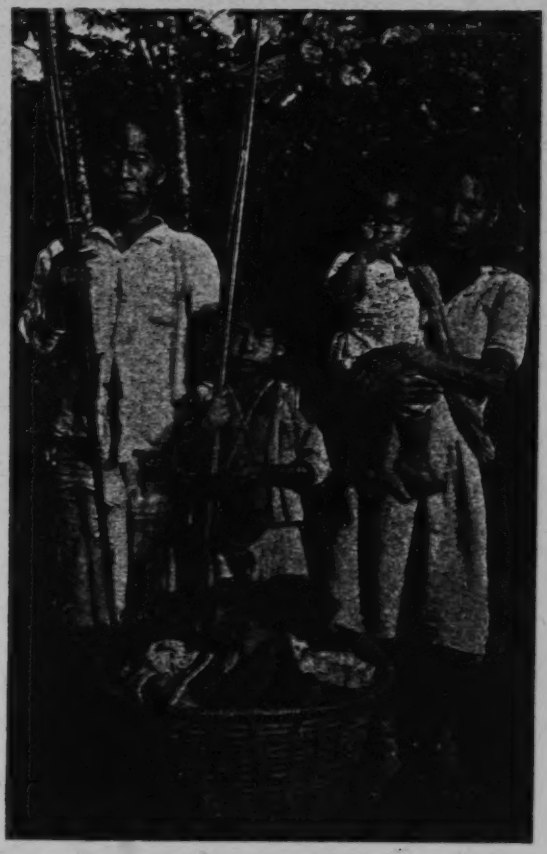

A VISITING FAMILY

[p. 178 contains no text]

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CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main *Tucuna* crops are bitter manioc, sweet manioc (macaxera), cara (*Dioscorea*), and maize. The last is planted with some ceremony. There are also at least three species of edible tubers which are not used by civilized people.

226 227 **Fishing and hunting.**—Fish, of great importance to the *Tucuna*, are taken with four- to nine-pronged javelins, arrows, harpoon arrows, baskets, weirs, traps, and a drug made of timbó. The Indians fish almost daily from childhood. On the Solimões, they are expert fishers of pirarucú, an important article of commerce.

224 177 411 Hunting today is unimportant, since game has been depleted to fill the demand for hides. The *Tucuna* now use firearms, but formerly employed the bow and arrow, spear, and blowgun. They also use pitfalls and several types of snares and traps. The blowgun, once the principal weapon, is disappearing.

222 262 [245] **Gathering.**—The wild burity, bacaba, patauá, and açahy palms are of great economic value. Some *Tucuna* plant Brazil nut trees near their houses. They eat certain frogs, Coleoptera larvae, and female red ants at hiving time. They like wild honey but keep no bees.

231 **Domesticated animals.**—The *Tucuna* raise a few chickens, but do not want hogs or other domestic animals because they dirty the premises. They keep young wild mammals and birds uncaged.

412 252 [177] [434] **Food preparation.**—Instead of a mortar, the *Tucuna* use a trough with a half-moon-shaped rocker of thick and heavy wood.

The making of manioc flour, introduced by the Neo-Brazilians, became one of the principal sources of income among the *Tucuna*.

HOUSES

342 The old houses had a small rectangular central portion with a short ridge pole mounted on props. Each end was semicircular, so that the ground plan was oval or nearly round. The walls were of a man's height, and were made of boards of paxiuba or of straw. The house could be sealed tight against mosquitoes. Families occupied the lateral corridors, the central space being reserved for ceremonies. All houses were spacious and well built.

177 342 352 513 The introduction of mosquito nets made house walls unnecessary. People slept on bunks along the walls, covered with mosquito nets, instead of in hammocks. Many houses were built without the semicircular extremities but with a longer central part, being like an open rectangular ranch house with a ridge pole. When the tribe occupied the flood plains of the shores and islands, they built houses on piles.

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Men formerly wore a belt with one apron of turury inner bark in front and another behind. The penis was stuck under the belt. Women perhaps at first went about entirely nude, but later adopted a short cloth of turury or of woven cotton, wrapped around the hips. Men wore bracelets with long feathers and necklaces of teeth (pl. 65, *bottom*). At feasts chiefs wore a cap of feathers mounted on a cotton or *Bromelia* net, or large diadems.

MANUFACTURES

Bark cloth.—Various masks and zoomorphic figures are made of bark cloth (pl. 64).

Basketry.—Clothes baskets are made of uarumã stalks with a round opening closed with a lid. Four points are drawn up and down over the lid and the bottom, the latter serving as legs. Other baskets have a flat square lid and bottom. Both types of baskets are made in all sizes, from 2 to 16 inches (4 to 40 cm.) in diameter. Burdens are carried in large conical baskets hexagonally woven of liana, or in cylindrical baskets of uarumã stalks. These are supported by an embira-fiber tumpline. The *Tucuna* also use pouches of looped tucum threads.

Pottery.—Women and sometimes men still make bowls, dishes, pans, and pots of clay, which are decorated with painted or modeled ornaments. Potter's clay is gathered according to certain rules so as not to anger its owner, a water demon who appears in the shape of the western rainbow.

Gourds.—Gourds are covered with a black lacquer, and may bear designs in indelible red pigment. Wooden spoons are carved, sometimes in fantastic shapes.

Weapons.—The bow is 6½ feet (2 m.) long with the ends notched to hold the string. It is now rare, even as a fishing weapon. The hunting arrow has a poisoned wooden head and feathering of the arched type. Arrows are 5 feet 4 inches (1⅗ m.) long. Spears have three types of points: (1) a poisoned, wooden point with four corners; (2) an iron point; and (3) a plain pointed stick. The last two are still used to hunt jaguars and peccaries. The *Tucuna* blowgun is over 10 feet (3 m.) long, and the darts 1 foot (30 cm.) long. The poison is the most effective of any made in the Amazon Basin, but its manufacture, which requires much time and care, is now being forgotten. Hunting dogs, which are of little use, are, according to tradition, pre-Columbian.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The *Tucuna* are industrious and hard working, kind to their friends, honest, patient, and hospitable. But they are more liable than other Indians to great outbursts of sudden anger, a trait which sometimes leads them to suicide. This is a manifestation of their individualism and desire to live

2: Nimuendajú E-5 (1941-1942) 1948
SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

is unnecessary; a boy and girl may meet at a feast and leave married at the end. The wife's parents never renounce their authority over her and do not permit the husband to take her far away, which results in a certain matrilocal tendency. 584 [591] [593]

Polygyny even today is considered licit, but cases of bigamy are rare. In the only case known, a famous man who was both priest and chief had three sisters as wives simultaneously. Other cases of sororate have occurred. The levirate, also formerly frequent, was considered desirable. 595 587

Jealousy may cause violent quarrels between husband and wife, but never murder and rarely divorce. Adultery, though causing scenes, is insufficient reason for divorce. Guilt is always placed on the woman. The father's authority in the family is great. 593 586 684

In case of robbery, the offended party requires restitution and sometimes is extremely severe with the thief. 685

Injuries and death occur almost exclusively when people are drunk during a feast, for alcohol stimulates certain *Tucuna* to fight. Drunkenness absolves the murderer from responsibility, but the victim's relatives always feel resentful and hostile toward him. 672 733

A house is the property of its builder, i.e., the head of the family. The clearing belongs to the woman by whom it was made. 423

The *Tucuna* no longer have chiefs as they are too individualistic to accept authority and as the civilized people have discredited the office by designating chiefs through whom they could exploit and oppress the Indians. Formerly, chiefs of local groups were heads of large families whose magic powers, intelligence, and ability in dealing with foreigners gave them prestige. There was never, however, a chief for the entire nation. 622 178

Death.—Until the end of the past century, the deceased and all his ornaments were placed in a large chicha jar which was covered with a vessel, buried in a cemetery, and the site sometimes marked with a rod of muirapiranga. Well-liked people sometimes were buried in the house. They put a little food, beverage, and a fire on the grave, periodically renewing it. Tessmann (1930, p. 564) incorrectly attributed secondary burial to the *Tucuna*. 764 [114]

WARFARE

The *Tucuna* are not warlike. They defended themselves against the *Omagua*, their principal enemies, and drove them to the banks of the Solimões River only when the latter had invaded their lands. They fought with arrows, poisoned spears, and round tapir-hide shields, and protected their paths with poisoned caltrops. They did not take prisoners or keep trophies from slain enemy. They never fought civilized people, except to avenge personal insults. 721 648 [411] [727]

4: Marcoy T-5 (ca. 1865) 1875 SQ20 Tucuna SQ20

The colour of these natives recalled that of old mahogany. A thick rough mane of hair covered their shoulders. The man was decorated on each cheek with tattoo-marks of a deep blue, produced with the juice of the *Pseudo-Añil indigofera*, the design of which somewhat resembled the Chinese letters on a tea-chest. He wore round his neck a necklace made of three or four rows of monkeys' teeth mounted on an osier framework; a brassart of woven cotton, ornamented with a bunch of yellow feathers and surmounted with a crest composed of the long feathers of the ara, was fastened just below the shoulder of each arm; bracelets of a similar material, but without the *pompon* or crest, encircled his legs above the ankles; and a peculiar girdle round his loins completed his attire. In his hand he carried a lance of palm-wood, with a notched point. The woman had neither the hieroglyphic marks on her face nor

CANOE OF THE TICUNA INDIANS ON THE RIVER AYACUARI.

the crested bracelets on her arm. She wore a necklace of red glass beads, acquired in one of her husband's transactions with the Brazilians. A band of woven cotton adorned the lower part of her legs, and a belt of the same material, none too wide, encircled her loins.

This little group, dimly seen in the faint light of the quebrada, and standing out in relief against the rich back-ground of vegetation, through which the blue sky was here and there visible, presented a charming subject for a sketch, of which I proceeded to take advantage. Having stopped the canoe, my companion amused the two Ticunas while I set to work to paint them. Puzzled by my occupation as much as by the intentness with which I regarded them, the couple exchanged some observations in an idiom with which I was unacquainted, and in the utterance of which they appeared to use their throat rather than their tongue. The gutturals of Hebrew, the double consonants of the Quichua tongue, the G, the Jotas and the X of the Castilian, are sounds of the softest melody compared with the vocal gurgling of these Ticunas,